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MAKING THE LIST: MOUNT ST. HELENS AS A TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTY, A CASE STUDY IN TRIBAL/GOVERNMENT COOPERATION

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ABSTRACT

In 2013, Mount St. Helens was listed in the National Register of Historic Places for its significance as a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP) of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe and the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation. The mountain, known as *Lawetlat'la* by the Tribal groups, qualified for listing in the National Register as a landscape feature central to their oral traditions, geography, and cultural identity. The area designated as a TCP encompasses 12,501 acres of the Mount St. Helens National Volcanic Monument on the Gifford Pinchot National Forest of southwestern Washington State. The nomination process took several years, and was a collaborative effort between the Gifford Pinchot National Forest and Cowlitz Indian Tribe. TCP nominations and listings are infrequent; of more than 80,000 properties on the National Register of Historic Places as of 2014, *Lawetlat'la* is only the 23rd TCP listed nation-wide. We present this case study as an example of how a cooperative relationship between federal/tribal partners was fundamental to the nomination process, and will remain important for future management of this Northwest landmark.

Introduction

Mount St. Helens is unquestionably the best-known volcano in North America, recognized especially for the catastrophic eruption of 18 May 1980, which took the lives of 57 people, caused extensive destruction, and transformed the surrounding forested landscape into a desolate moonscape (Fig. 1). The eruption was extensively covered by media and studied by scientists. The mountain is known to the Cowlitz Indian Tribe and the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation as *Lawetlat'la* (from *lawilat* (v.), "emitting smoke," and *–ła*, a personifier), a Sahaptin name which translates in English to "smoker" (Kinkade 2004; Beavert and Hargus 2009). A central feature of the physical and cultural landscape for thousands of years, the mountain has a long geologic history of intermittent volcanic eruption. In 1792, British Captain

Fig. 1. Before and after photo comparison of Mount St. Helens from Johnston Ridge, 17 May 1980 and September 1980. Photos by Harry Glicken, USGS.

George Vancouver gave the volcano the English name Mount St. Helens, a name that appears on subsequent published maps (Hayes 1999).

To the general public, the appeal of Mount St. Helens as a dramatic geological wonder has overshadowed its cultural significance as a sacred place to local native people. As a place important to indigenous cultural identity, particularly for citizens of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, the mountain was recently the focus of a collaborative effort to secure formal recognition in the National Register of Historic Places as a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP). In September 2013, *Lawetlat'la* was listed in the National Register for its significance as a TCP to the Cowlitz Indian Tribe and the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation. The mountain qualified for National Register listing as a cultural landscape central to the oral traditions, geography, and identity of the native peoples of the area. The nomination process took several years, and was a joint effort by the USDA Forest Service and Cowlitz Indian Tribe. Although the Yakama Nation was supportive of the listing, they were not directly involved in the development of the nomination. The mountain is of particular importance to the Cowlitz People, and falls within the area of their aboriginal land claims made to the Indian Claims Commission of the U.S. federal government. The image of *Lawetlat'la* appears on the official seal and emblem of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe.

We present this case study as an example of how a collaborative relationship was fundamental to the *Lawetlat'la*/Mount St. Helens National Register nomination process. This article provides an overview of *Lawetlat'la*, tribal history, and federal land management; reviews the history and background of TCPs as a legal and procedural concept; provides an overview of the cultural history and significance of *Lawetlat'la* to Tribal people; and summarizes the steps of our National Register nomination and listing process. As a case study, this article provides the opportunity for an assessment of National Register guidelines with respect to Traditional Cultural Properties, and considers the potential benefits of National Register listing, as seen both from a Tribal and federal agency perspective. Finally, we look to the future, and lay out next steps for cooperative management of the *Lawetlat'la*/Mount St. Helens TCP.

Lawetlat'la, Tribal History and Federal Land Management

As *Lawetlat'la* reveals in its Tribal name, "smoker," the mountain has an eruptive history extending much further back in time than 1980. This history has always played a central role in the physical and cultural landscape of Tribal groups living on lands around the mountain. From the Tribal perspective, *Lawetlat'la* has been a traditional cultural property (*sensu lato*) since time before memory. The mountain, however, is not on Tribal lands. It lies outside direct Tribal control and governance, and within federal lands currently managed by the Forest Service as a part of the Gifford Pinchot National Forest.

During the 1855–1856 treaty period in Washington Territory, leaders of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe did not sign a treaty or cede lands despite participation in treaty councils (Fitzpatrick 1986; Dupres 2010). They retained full aboriginal title to their lands. Nonetheless, their lands were identified for division and disposal by the U.S. federal government, sold to settlers, and granted to homesteaders and corporate railroad interests. Much of the western slope of the Cascade Mountains in southern Washington State was also designated as a U.S. federal Forest Reserve in 1897, despite the fact that Cowlitz aboriginal title was never formally extinguished. These lands eventually became part of the National Forest system. Also in 1855, fourteen bands of Indians signed the Yakama Treaty and ceded lands, but these lands did not include the western slopes of the Cascade Mountains or Mount St. Helens.

Since at least 1975, with the direction and guidance that followed passage of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (Public Law 93-638), federal agencies have had a mandate to work cooperatively with Indian Tribes that have interests on federal lands. From that time, but before Cowlitz federal recognition (Federal Register 2000) was subsequently upheld on appeal (Federal Register 2002), the Cowlitz Indian Tribe and Gifford Pinchot National Forest maintained an informal government-to-government working relationship. It was during this interval in 1980, when the mountain violently erupted.

Following the eruption in 1982, administration of the mountain, blast zone and areas surrounding the mountain, were consolidated by Act of Congress (Public Law 97-243) as the Mount St. Helens National Volcanic Monument. The 110,000 acre (445 km^2) Monument was created for research, recreation, and education. Within the Monument, the environment is left to naturally respond and recover from the ecological disturbance of the 1980 eruption. The Monument became the first such protected area to be administered by the Forest Service.

Although the Forest Service had begun fairly regular consultation with the Cowlitz Indian Tribe in the 1980s, this relationship changed dramatically in 2002, with Cowlitz federal acknowledgement confirmed. In 2003, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was developed between the Cowlitz and the Gifford Pinchot National Forest to provide a framework for government-to-government consultation and cooperation. The MOU remains the primary agreement document defining the relationship, and specifies intent to collaborate in projects and programs of mutual benefit, including the "protection, perpetuation and management of cultural and natural resources . . . in the Cowlitz Indian Tribe's traditional use areas within the National Forest." Since establishment of the MOU, the relationship between the Cowlitz and Gifford Pinchot National Forest has evolved to more closely resemble a partnership, and has become more formalized, substantial and cooperative.

The idea for nominating Mount St. Helens to the National Register as a TCP initially arose out of conversations between Gifford Pinchot National Forest and Cowlitz Indian Tribe officials regarding partnership project opportunities. During the 2010 annual MOU review meeting, both parties expressed an interest in formally recognizing the cultural significance of Mount St. Helens through National Register listing and TCP designation. Cowlitz Tribal Chairman William Iyall asked agency officials and staff to give the project a high priority for the coming year. Subsequently, more than two years were spent gathering data, conducting interviews, and preparing a draft nomination. Throughout this process, Tribal representatives variously referred to *Lawetlat'la* as a sacred mountain, traditional cultural landscape, traditional cultural place, or traditional cultural property, and saw these terms as synonymous.

Traditional Cultural Properties, Bulletin 38, and the *Lawetlat'la* Nomination

The National Register, authorized by the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, is part of a program to coordinate and support public and private efforts to identify, evaluate, and protect America's historic, archaeological, and traditional cultural resources. Although the original language of the NHPA provided for inclusion of places of traditional cultural significance, in practice few were initially considered. To encourage greater consideration of these places, the National Park Service (NPS) subsequently developed National Register Bulletin 38 in 1990 (Parker and King 1990), which was revised in 1992 and again in 1998, and is now known by the title, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (King 2009).

Bulletin 38 introduced the term "traditional cultural property" and offered direction on the practical application of existing National Register eligibility criteria to this class of resources. Perhaps the greatest benefit of Bulletin 38, nationally, was the role it seems to have played in raising public and agency awareness about the traditional cultural significance of places of importance to Tribes, including landscape features imbued with sacred qualities and tied to tribal histories (Lusignan 2009). Many places initially described as part of "sacred geography" of the western United States in an early study by anthropologist Deward Walker (1988a and b) were later evaluated and determined eligible to the National Register as TCPs.

In some instances, definition of TCP boundaries has proved challenging. The case of Mount Shasta, a 14,162 foot volcanic peak at the southern end of the Cascade Range in California, provides a controversial example (Guilford 2000:154–157; King 2003:170–173). The initial Forest Service determination of National Register eligibility included boundaries considered too restrictive by local tribes. When the Keeper of the National Register agreed with the tribes, the ensuing public and political dispute over boundaries led ultimately to the reversal of that decision and the acceptance of boundaries originally proposed by the Forest Service, largely because of issues relating to integrity and privately-owned lands on the lower slopes of the mountain. In another case, a TCP nomination by the Lummi Nation in Washington State encountered challenges in defining boundaries that included private property (Prendergast-Kennedy 2005). Out of concern for boundary conflict, and the question of what constitutes the physical and spiritual mountain, we gave these factors careful consideration in the development of the *Lawetlat'la* nomination.

Another contentious case, still unresolved, and at least partially a catalyst for the development of Bulletin 38, involves the San Francisco Peaks, a National Register-eligible TCP located within the Coconino National Forest of northern Arizona (King 2003:29–30, 99). A Forest Service decision to allow use of reclaimed wastewater in artificial snowmaking for a ski area resulted in a lawsuit by a coalition of Indian Tribes and environmental groups. In this case, boundary or ownership issues were not the principal source of contention; rather, conflict arose over proposed land uses within the TCP, and differing cultural perspectives regarding effects to the sacred landscape. The possibility of conflicting land uses within the *Lawetlat'la* TCP was also carefully considered in the development of the *Lawetlat'la* nomination, and will be addressed within the framework of a cooperative management plan, currently in the initial stages of development.

Recent years have seen re-evaluation of the Bulletin 38/Guidelines, and the very framework for identification of TCPs (King 2005, 2009, 2012). According to Tom King, one of its authors, the original purpose of Bulletin 38 ". . . was to remind agencies of the United States government that places important to communities in terms of their cultural identities—as defined by those communities—were just as entitled to consideration in federal planning as those valued by historians, archaeologists, and architects" (King 2012). In his re-evaluation of Bulletin 38, King expressed concern about the over-consideration of professional and academic assessment that had become embedded in the TCP nomination and review process, versus the value of the TCP to its community of origin.

We, the preparers of the *Lawetlat'la* TCP nomination, experienced this bias early in developing the nomination, when one reviewer challenged the initial proposal on the grounds that the 1980 eruption had compromised the physical integrity of the property. The same reviewer eventually understood that constant eruptions are very much a character-defining feature of the property, as recognized by the Cowlitz people in their oral traditions, and manifest in the Tribal name for the mountain.

In developing the TCP nomination, we were intimately aware of the potential challenges outlined in the cases described above, including the possibilities of contentious borders, conflicting land uses, and academic/professional biases. We hoped to collaboratively develop a nomination that would transcend the suite of challenges and controversy encountered by other TCP nominations.

Mount St. Helens was initially identified as a TCP in a management-related ethnographic sites inventory completed for the Gifford Pinchot National Forest in 1995. The inventory project was conducted by Archaeological Investigations Northwest, Inc., a Portland, Oregon consulting firm, under contract to the Forest Service. Research consisted of a comprehensive literature review and interviews with 30 tribal consultants familiar with the traditional uses of the National Forest lands. The study identified 256 places of cultural significance to the Yakama and Cowlitz people (Hajda et al. 1995). Native place names were recorded for 180 (70 percent) of these sites. Fifty-two of these places, including Mount St. Helens, are mountains or peaks, and are of special interest here, since all were considered sacred, a place to acquire power, or the home of special beings (Hajda et al. 1995:28).

Several sites and places listed in the 1995 inventory were subsequently documented and evaluated as TCPs within the context of cultural resource survey projects completed in support of federal undertakings within the National Forest. Examples include *T'at'aLiya*, a geologic feature representing the body of a cannibal woman turned to stone by *Spilyai* (Coyote) in the myth age; *Likalwit*, a place where *Spilyai* formed a river channel to become a major fishing site for the first people; and *Skis-watum*, a large traditional huckleberry field at the crest of the Cascade Mountains. Documentation and evaluation of these places was conducted in consultation with the Yakama Nation and the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, and all assessed to date have been determined National Register-eligible as TCPs, although no others have been formally nominated.

Internal staff-level review of ethnographic sites listed in the 1995 Gifford Pinchot National Forest inventory and those places well-known to the Cowlitz community ultimately led to the selection of *Lawetlat'la*/Mount St. Helens as the most obvious choice for a formal TCP nomination. There was a significant body of oral tradition, ethnology, and mythology associated with the mountain, but little risk that publicizing the TCP would threaten archaeological resources or compromise traditional spiritual practices. Because the boundaries of the TCP lie entirely within the National Volcanic Monument, there were no private lands or multiple ownership issues to address. Finally, the potential for conflicting land uses was seen as minimal because of the Monument's primary mission to promote only research, recreation, and educational activities.

Using Bulletin 38/Guidelines, Gifford Pinchot National Forest personnel worked together with the Cowlitz Tribe on a draft nomination, conducting interviews and ethnographic research, assembling supporting documents, and determining what cultural information was suitable to include, and what was appropriate to withhold. The National Register nomination draft was initially sent to the Washington Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation and Yakama Nation for review in late 2012. The following section of this article summarizes much of the original content of that nomination, presented here as a central piece of this case study.

Lawetlat'la, General Description of the TCP

Lawetlat'la (Mount St. Helens) is a prominent stratovolcano located within the Cascade Mountains of southwestern Washington, 96 miles south of the city of Seattle and 50 miles northeast of the city of Portland, Oregon (Fig. 2). The mountain is within lands administered by

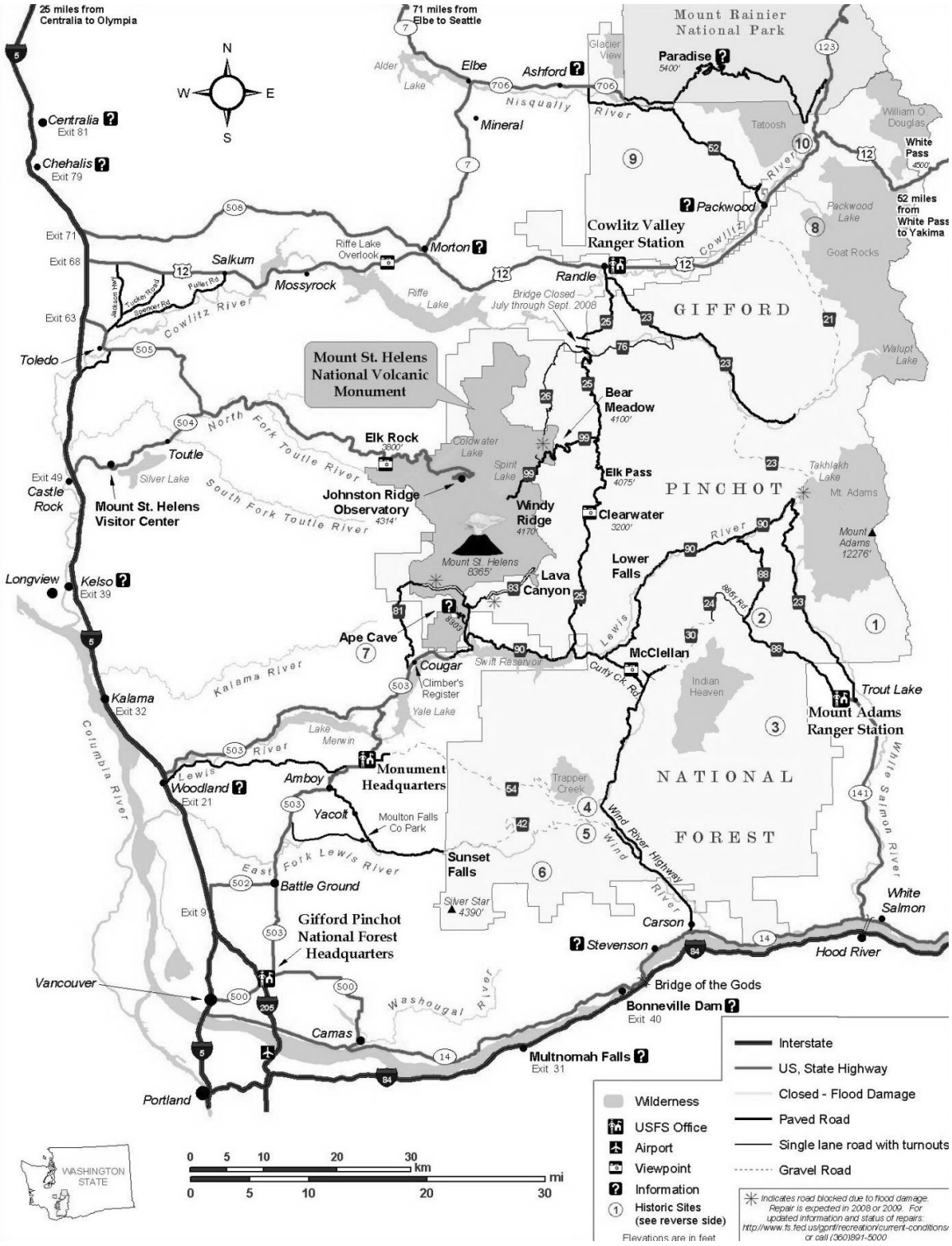

Fig. 2. Vicinity map, Mount St. Helens National Volcanic Monument, courtesy USDA, Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot National Forest.

the Gifford Pinchot National Forest and is the central feature of the Mount St. Helens National Volcanic Monument, a popular tourist destination visited by more than 200,000 people annually. The 8,363-foot volcano rises high above other mountains and ridges in this part of the Cascade Range, and is visible from many points along the Columbia River in Oregon and Washington between the cities of Portland and Longview, as well as from communities further north, including Centralia and Chehalis.

Lawetlat'la is recognized as a sacred mountain, important to the cultural history and beliefs of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe and the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation. The mountain is associated with events that are important to the history of these two groups, including traditions about their origin and establishment. The continued teaching of oral traditions involving *Lawetlat'la* and the performance of specific ceremonies and songs that invoke those traditions serve an important role to "teach respect for sacred things" (Hajda et al. 1995:29). Other groups more distant also recognize the cultural significance of the mountain, though it is less central to their identity.

The boundaries of the TCP were defined on the basis of traditional cultural beliefs that considered the area of the mountain above the tree line to be a place of exceptional spiritual power (Hajda et al. 1995:29, 44). Tree line on Mount St. Helens typically occurs around 4,020 feet in elevation, much lower than that of other Cascade Range volcanoes (Dale et al. 2005). The atypical tree line is due to the difficulty of ongoing regeneration after recent volcanic eruptions. Loowit Trail #216 encircles the mountain at roughly the same elevation, and thus was used as a tangible, fixed boundary for the property, approximating the culturally determined limits of the sacred space (Fig. 3). The area within the TCP boundary totals 12,501 acres.

Mount St. Helens is one of the youngest volcanoes in the Cascade Range. Over the past 40,000 years, sustained periods of magmatic activity have produced a series of successive lava domes forming the cone of the volcano. The mountain is composed primarily of dacite and andesite, volcanic rocks rich in silica, erupted over thousands of years. The largest known eruption occurred approximately 3,500 years ago, deposited a cubic mile of pyroclastic material over the region, and covered Native settlements more than twenty miles away (McClure 1992:11). A period of dome-building followed this eruption, and since that time, it has remained the most active volcano in the Cascade Range, erupting nearly once every century (and sometimes more frequently). During the Goat Rocks eruptive period, which ended in 1857, the volcano attained a maximum height of 9,677 feet (Mullineaux and Crandell 1981). Before the 1980 eruption, the upper slopes of Mount St. Helens featured eleven small glaciers.

The mountain entered a new eruptive phase in March 1980, when a 400-foot bulge formed on the northern slope of the volcano. This bulge, along with several steam eruptions and thousands of earthquakes, indicated subsurface magma activity. On 18 May 1980, the bulge and much of the summit gave way under the force of gravity and one of the largest landslides in recorded history swept north across the valley and continued westward several miles. The landslide was followed by a lateral blast that affected an area of 230 square miles. The blast completely removed, toppled, and stripped trees bare of vegetation throughout the blast zone. Pyroclastic materials flowed down the north slope of the mountain and covered the valley below in several feet of pumice and ash. Lahars amassed and flowed down the North and South Fork of the Toutle River, to the Cowlitz River, and eventually into the Columbia River. The eruption resulted in the loss of 1,300 feet elevation from the mountain's original summit and dramatically transformed the landscape and ecosystems on the north side of the volcano. Between 2004 and 2008 the mountain underwent a period of dome-building eruptions characterized by a less-explosive gradual extrusion of new rock within the 1980 crater.

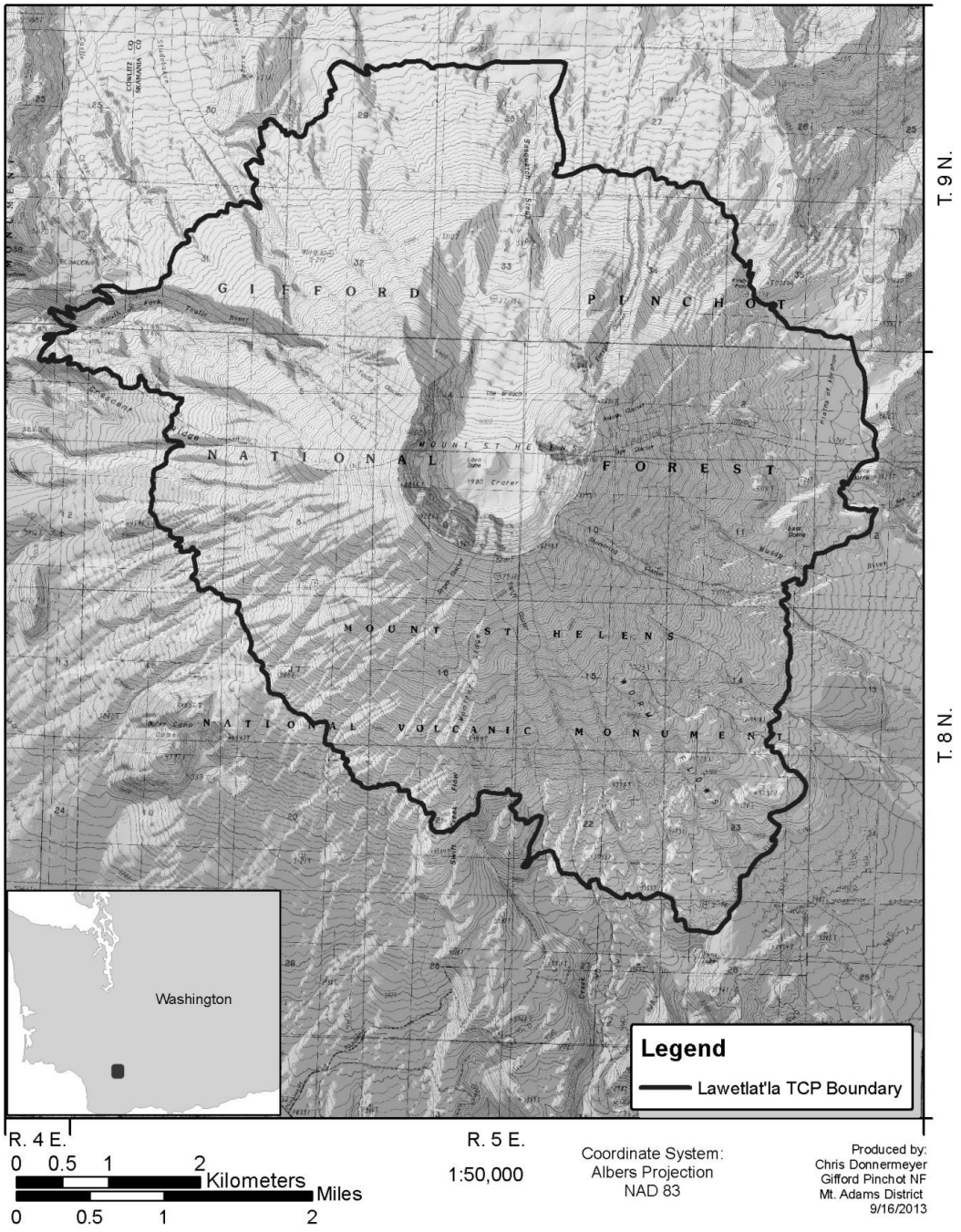

Fig. 3. Topographic map of Mount St. Helens showing boundary of NRHP/TCP designation.

Main features of the volcano today include the large crater, over a mile in diameter and 2,084 feet deep, resulting from the 1980 eruption. Two lava domes have subsequently formed in the crater. The Pumice Plain, a large pyroclastic debris field, extends north from the crater to the shoreline of Spirit Lake. On the west, south, and east sides of the mountain, bare slopes rise steeply from surrounding ridges to the crater rim. About 70 percent of glacial ice mass was lost in

the 1980 eruption, but a new glacier has formed within the crater. Channels cut into the floor of the crater and across the Pumice Plain bring melt water from annual snowpack and the Crater Glacier into the North Fork Toutle River. The slopes of the volcano are dissected by a series of steeply incised drainages that include the headwaters of the Toutle River on the north and west, the Kalama River on the southwest, and the Muddy River, a tributary of the Lewis, on the south and east.

Tree limit on the volcano essentially represents the boundary between subalpine and alpine life zones. At this elevation, plants are well-adapted to raw pumice soils and severe weather. Conifer trees of the lower subalpine forests, including mountain hemlock and subalpine fir, are typically represented at this altitude as krummholz—a stunted growth form. In terms of relative ground cover and density, the most common plants of this zone include grasses and sedges, lupine, phlox, penstemon, aster, and other alpine meadow flora native to the Cascade Range. The upper limit of all vegetation is around 6000 feet elevation.

Constructed features on the mountain are limited to small U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) monitoring stations and infrastructure associated with recreational trails. USGS monitoring stations on the mountain are operated and maintained by the USGS Cascades Volcano Observatory, based in Vancouver, Washington. These stations consist of small equipment installations in various locations within and around the crater. They include six tripod-mounted seismometers, a fixed-site telemetered camera with battery box and antenna, and 12 portable telemetered GPS receiver stations. These small, lightweight telemetry units are designed to be easily moved by helicopter to various locations around the volcano, as needed, for monitoring purposes.

Loowit Trail #216, forming the boundary of the TCP, was constructed in the early 1990s and has small wooden trail signs at junctions. In some areas where the trail crosses rough terrain of lava flows, the trail is marked with small cairns of stacked rocks or wooden posts. The popular Monitor Ridge climbing route, on the south side of the mountain, follows a trail through the forest, but above tree line is marked only by cairns and posts. All climbing above timberline is regulated by a permit system; only 100 permits per day are issued during the summer season. The only fixed, permanent structure within the boundary of the TCP is a small composting toilet structure on the popular Monitor Ridge climbing route, just within the TCP boundary, but below timberline.

Lawetlat'la, Cultural Significance

As previously noted, *Lawetlat'la* translates as "smoker," characterizing the eruptive nature of the mountain. Other names recorded for the mountain include *nšh'ák'w* from the Upper Chehalis people (Kinkade 1991), which translates as "water coming out," and *aka akn*, a Kiksht (Upper Chinookan) term for "snow mountain" (Rob Moore, personal communication to McClure, 2001). Knowledge of the mountain, its creation, and behavior has been passed down through generations of Cowlitz and Yakama people through an oral tradition of myths and legends. *Lawetlat'la* was one of the first landform features created by *Spilyai*, or Coyote, a key figure of their creation myths. Other myths involve the nature of the relationships between people, their environment, and the sacred, and explain how *Lawetlat'la* came to be imbued with spiritual power. The myths offer lessons in personal conduct and cultural ideals, providing a window into traditional worldviews and perceptions of physical and spiritual reality. While traditions of oral history are of central importance in relating *Lawetlat'la* to Cowlitz spiritual beliefs, other aspects of cultural identity, such as traditional practices and rituals, and historic accounts of the mountain contribute to its cultural-historical significance.

Cultural Context and History

Throughout the historic period, the rivers and forests surrounding *Lawetlat'la* were the homeland of several small tribal groups whose descendants are now affiliated with two federally-recognized Indian Tribes: the Cowlitz Indian Tribe and the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation. To the north of the mountain, in the upper Cowlitz River watershed, were the Sahaptin-speaking Táytnapam (spelling after Beavert and Hargus 2009), who post-circa 1880 also became known as "Upper Cowlitz." To the west were the Salishan-speaking Cowlitz (or Lower Cowlitz); and to the south, in the upper Lewis River watershed, were both Lewis River Táytnapam and the Xwálxwaypam. The latter group, generally known as the Klickitat, principally occupied the upper Klickitat River watershed, and are one of the fourteen bands and tribes that comprise the Yakama Nation. Following an initial period of settlement by British and Americans in the early to mid-nineteenth century, tribal distribution and affiliations were significantly altered through the effects of disease, warfare, and the dispossession of tribal lands. In the aftermath of treaty negotiations and the establishment of reservations, many Cowlitz River Táytnapam and Lewis River Táytnapam families were removed to, or opted to relocate to, the Yakama Reservation, east of the Cascade Mountains, and became enrolled Yakama tribal members. Those remaining in their homeland, west of the Cascades, retained aboriginal title and signed no treaties, but their lands were opened to settlement by Presidential Proclamation in 1863. During the late nineteenth century these groups reorganized as the Cowlitz Tribe, and by 1904 had petitioned the U.S. government for compensation for lands taken from them, lands that included *Lawetlat'la*.

In 1912, the Cowlitz Tribe again reorganized, elected a chairman and officers, and pursued a claim against the U.S. government for lands that were taken without compensation. In 1973, the Indian Claims Commission finally ruled that aboriginal title to 1.66 million acres, held exclusively by the Cowlitz, had been arbitrarily extinguished by the U.S. federal government in 1863 (Department of Justice 1971). Despite claim settlement, and a compromise agreement establishing compensation, settlement funds did not become available until 2004, after federal recognition of the Cowlitz.

Lawetlat'la, Oral Traditions and Identity

The most powerful testament to the importance of *Lawetlat'la* to the Cowlitz people and neighboring groups are the oral traditions, or myths, about it and the spiritual significance attached to it as a natural, supernatural, and living entity. Tribal histories extend back in time to what is referred to as the myth age, before the people had arrived in the land (Adamson 1934; Jacobs 1959:6). Cowlitz spiritual leader Roy Wilson (1999:33) notes, "Most of the legends refer to the time when all the animals were people." The Cowlitz term for this type of tale is *sc'pt*. Myths and legends set in this period often tell of how the land was made ready for the coming of the first people, and they describe the creation of the landforms and sacred foods that remain important to Cowlitz people today. As explained by Táytnapam elder Jim Yoke during a 1927 interview: "In this country, when the country had its beginning, in the myth age, he (Coyote) ordained it (all). He named all these places in this land (such as) the rivers, (and the) places where fish were to be obtained (and so on)" (Jacobs 1934:228). Coyote, or *Spilyai*, was the central myth-age figure responsible for making the land ready for the people.

In a long narrative of Coyote's journey up the Cowlitz River, also recorded in 1927, Lewy (Louis) Costima recounted the creation of *Lawetlat'la*:

> At *xwiya'tc* ("sweat lodge," a rock at Cowlitz Falls; it used to be a sweat lodge according to native belief), Coyote sat down, he planned what to make. He thought he would make *taxu'ma* (Mt. Rainier), that he would make *pa'tu* (Mt. Adams), that he would make *law E lat' la'* ('person from whom smoke comes,' Mt. St. Helens). He thought where. (Jacobs 1934:243)

The explicit mention of the mountain in this creation narrative demonstrates that it was a prominent feature of the landscape in the eyes of the Cowlitz. A Lower Cowlitz version of the creation story, recorded in 1926 from Minnie Case, uses the Salishan name *Xwa'ni* for Coyote, and portrays the myth-age Cascade volcanoes as gendered supernatural beings:

> *Xwa'ni* was travelling far up in the country; he had started from Puget Sound. He was making hills as he travelled. He thought to himself, "I'm going to make a snow mountain here. I won't make the top very round; I'll make it in three different parts." He made the mountain and said, "This shall be called *'texo'ma'* (Mount Rainier)." From there, he went south, making large hills and small ones and giving shape to the land as he travelled. After he had one a long way, he looked back: *texo'ma'* was no longer visible. "I'll make another," he said, "I'll make this one round at the top. This shall be called *'lawe'late'* (Mount St. Helens)." After he had finished it, he stood off and looked at it. It was too far away from the first, so he made another about half-way between. "This one shall be called *'tc'ili'il* (Mount Adams)," he said, "this shall be the husband of the two others." They say that *lawe late* got jealous of *texoma* and threw some fire at her. She burnt *texoma's* head off and also burnt her backbone and shoulders. (Adamson 1934:257)

The ethnologist and linguist George Gibbs was aware of multiple versions of a similar oral tradition as early as 1854, when he noted,

> The Indians report that there were once three mountains that smoked always, Mount Hood and Mount Adams being the others. Respecting Mounts Hood and St. Helens, they have a characteristic tale to the effect that they were once man and wife; that they finally quarreled and threw fire at one another, and that St. Helens was the victor; since when Mount Hood has been afraid, while St. Helens, having a stout heart, still burns. (Gibbs 1854)

Gibbs' reference does not indicate which of the two mountains was considered male or female, but a later Cowlitz version of the quarreling mountains tale, recorded in 1927 from Mary Iley, indicates *Lawetlat'la* as male:

> Mount St. Helens (*lawe'latla'*) had two wives, Mount Ranier [sic] (*taxo'ma*) and Mount Adams (*patu'*). His wives quarreled. They had lots of children. They fought and fought. Finally Mount Ranier [sic] got the best of Mount Adams; she stepped on all of Mount Adams' children and killed them. She was the stronger. The children were in the way when they were fighting and so kept stepping on them. The two women and their husband turned into mountains. (Adamson 1934:268)

A Yakama version of this story, which also involves Mt. Hood and *Wahx'soom*, or Simcoe Mountain, features Mount St. Helens as one of the five wives of *Enum-klah',* or Thunder. The wives battled amongst themselves, with Mt. Hood emerging as the victor. The narrator, William Charley, explained the legend as a moral lesson in the pitfalls of plural marriage and the faults of jealousy (Hines 1992:28–29). Gibbs recorded a Klickitat (Xwálxwaypam) version of the legend that also features *Wahx'soom*, and portrays the "Snow Peaks" as quarreling brothers (Clark 1956:152–153). In the Klickitat version, Mount St. Helens is the victor. Gibbs also noted that "in some versions this story is connected with the slide which formed the Cascades of the Columbia." Indeed, these versions involving the Cascades and so-called "Bridge of the Gods" are among the most published and popularized of the oral traditions regarding *Lawetlat'la.*

A popular version of the legend (Bunnell 1935), attributed to Klickitat sources, is among the first to use the name "Loo-wit" for Mount St. Helens, a shortened derivation of "Loo-wit-lat-kla," which first appeared in print in 1861 (Loo-Wit Lat-Kla 1861). Another popular published version of the Bridge of the Gods legend that uses the name "Loo-wit" was collected by Lulu Crandall, an historian of The Dalles, Oregon, and initially published in 1953 (Clark 1953:20–22). The source, as indicated by folklorist Ella Clark, may have been "an old woman of the Wasco tribe" (Clark 1952:33), referencing the Kiksht-speaking neighbors of the Klickitat. Clark observed that no other legend of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest has been so often recorded, rewritten, and retold (Clark 1952:29). Balch (1890), Lyman (1910, 1913), Schwartz (1976), Hadley (1979), Hilton (1980), and Williams (1980) present similar, though sometimes embellished versions of the Bridge of the Gods legend, demonstrating *Lawetlat'la*'s role in oral traditions of groups other than the Cowlitz and Yakama.

The more popularized versions of the oral traditions demonstrate an unfortunate debasement and corruption of original forms, as evidenced by the loss of traditional narrative structure, style, and language, and the rendering of the stories into romanticized forms more suitable to a non-indigenous English-speaking audience. The version recorded by Crandall involves the quarreling of two brothers who were the chiefs of the Multnomah and Klickitat people. To promote peace between the two groups, the Great Spirit constructed a rock bridge across the Columbia River. For a long time, the people were at peace, but then again began to quarrel. To punish them, the Great Spirit took away the sun, and they had no fire to keep warm. An old woman, whose name was Loo-wit, had avoided the conflict and still kept a fire in her lodge. The people begged the Great Spirit for fire. He went to the woman, his heart "softened by their prayer," asked her to share the fire, and offered to grant her a wish. "What do you want the most?" he asked.

"Youth and beauty," she answered. The Great Spirit then directed her to take her fire to the rock bridge, make it available to people on both sides of the river, and to keep it burning "as a reminder of the goodness and kindness of the Great Spirit." Loo-wit did as she was told, and was transformed into a "young and beautiful maiden" who stirred the hearts of the Klickitat and Multnomah chiefs. She could not, however, choose between them; the brothers became jealous and warfare ensued between the two groups. The Great Spirit grew angry, destroyed the bridge across the river, and changed the two brothers, Wyeast and Klickitat, into mountains. Crandall's version of the legend concludes with Loo-wit's final transformation:

> Loo-wit was changed into a snow-capped peak which still has the youth and beauty promised by the Great Spirit. She is now called Mount St. Helens. Wyeast is known as Mt. Hood, and Klickitat as Mount Adams. The rocks and white water where the Bridge of the Gods fell are known as the Cascades of the Columbia. (Clark 1953:22)

In this version, the transformation of Loo-wit from old to young may represent the geological transformation from "old" (scarred by explosive eruptions), to "young" (a smooth rounded cone) as developed by dome-building extrusive eruptions that returned the peak to conical form. Bunnell's version (1935:51) relates,

> The Great Spirit smilingly told her that he could change her body and physical appearance, but that her mind could not be changed. As this was exactly to her liking, the wish was granted. Again she took her place among the great snow mountains, but, being old in spirit and all her immediate friends and relatives having passed on, she found herself satisfied with her own cold beauty and did not desire other companionship. She withdrew from the main mountain range and settled by herself far to the west, where you may still find her, always aloof and unconcerned—the youngest and most beautiful, yet the oldest of all the snow mountains. (Bunnell 1935:51)

Though it is possible to see how geological events are woven into myth, and that they explain how components of the physical landscape came into existence, the central theme of the Bridge of the Gods myths, across all versions, typically provides a moral compass and a lesson. The events portrayed reveal how people should treat one another, and show how spiritual forces may offer punishment or reward to ensure betterment of society.

This assigning of human form and emotion is an important part of understanding *Lawetlat'la* for the Cowlitz People, and is embedded in the Tribal name, which uses the singular agentive personification suffix *–ɬa* to emphasize that Mount St. Helens is not simply a mountain that emits smoke, but is a "person from whom smoke comes." Personification allows Tribal members to better relate to the natural behaviors of the mountain, and to connect with it through shared history and common emotional experience.

Lawetlat'la is a central identifiable marker through which the Cowlitz people have oriented themselves in time and space. Its creation also established a critical link between the natural and supernatural realms, thus contributing to the Cowlitz cosmology, or perception of reality, both physical and spiritual. Additionally, as the mountain is a place where great spiritual power resides, it remains a means through which the Cowlitz may commune with nature and the forces which originally brought everything into being. *Lawetlat'la* provides a tangible link to the very origins of the Cowlitz people, to the creation of their homeland, their landscape. It connects them to the myth age, to powerful forces at work in that time and ultimately to the Creator.

Aside from explaining origins and teaching lessons about human nature and conduct, the Cowlitz myths regarding *Lawetlat'la* also offer a record of eruptive events. Cowlitz spiritual leader Roy Wilson has related another Coyote story which equates the violence of volcanic activity with the explosive and powerful anger of conflict:

> Once in the long ago time, *Xwani* (Coyote) was going up the *Seqiku* (Toutle River), and he heard a great rumbling. He perked up his ear and soon realized that it was *Lawetlat'la* (Mt. St. Helens). He could tell that she was very angry. Soon he heard another great rumbling coming from another direction. He perked up his other ear and soon realized that it was *Takhoma* (Mt. Rainier). He was also very angry. They were having a husband and wife argument and fighting, and he was between them. Then he saw *Lawetlatla* blow her top and knock the head off *Takhoma*. (Wilson 1999:74)

Oral traditions such as these provide an important cultural context to understanding the significance of the 1980 eruption to the Cowlitz Indian Tribe. Cowlitz people strongly identify with their landscape (Fitzpatrick 1986; Roe 2003; Wiggins 2007; Dupres 2010; Irwin 2014). During the Tribe's lengthy federal recognition process, Mount St. Helens was interpreted politically as a powerful symbol of Cowlitz identity (Hilton 1980; Dupres 2010, 2014). The eruption of 1980 and other subsequent smaller eruptions have been linked to the rumbling and explosive power of the Cowlitz people, and the "mountain of resentment" that had grown out of the "actions of the government and our neighbors" (Barnett 2003; Dupres 2014:47–49). Tribal members feel connected to the mountain's enduring legacy, explosive potential, and constant change and rebuilding. Eruptive events are viewed as a natural embodiment and expression of the Tribe's natural inner social turmoil, and reflect the interconnectedness of social, natural, and supernatural realms understood by the Cowlitz.

Lawetlat'la and Cowlitz Spirituality

The term *tamanawas* is used by the Cowlitz to refer to the spirit presence or life force present in all things. The term comes from the Chinook Wawa, the historic trade language used by many Northwest native groups, including the Cowlitz (Wilson 2011:206–208). Everything contains *tamanawas*, but each spirit is different. Some are very powerful and can bestow certain skills, information, or healing. According to traditional Cowlitz belief, high mountains such as *Lawetlat'la* are physical manifestations and sources of *tamanawas* power. Important and spiritually-charged places in the landscape are sites where those who seek may obtain *tamanawas*. Site-based *tamanawas* can transfer power into people who seek the spirit for knowledge or medicinal purposes (Wilson 2010, personal communication to John Hand). Site-based *tamanawas* can also assist in making the *tamanawas* of other beings (animals, plants, or even non-living things such as rocks) available to the seeker. According to Roy Wilson, the main function of the mountain is to transfer that power to the people (2010, personal communication to John Hand). *Lawetlat'la* therefore serves as an important spiritual identity placeholder for the Tribe, linking them to the traditional spiritual practices of their ancestors.

The practices of some Cowlitz groups have been described as similar to the Yakama idea of the spirit quest (Blukis Onat and Hollenbeck 1981:509). People could enlist the help of non-human spiritual entities by traveling to remote mountain locations, places of power and the home of special beings that inhabited the higher elevations (Hajda et al. 1995:28). Referring apparently to the practices of the Lewis River Táytnapam, with respect to *Lawetlat'la*, one nineteenth century observer reported:

> When an Indian boy wished to be received into the council of the brave of his nation, he would ascend the mountain peak as far up as the grass grows, and there prove his bravery by walking to and fro, in the presence of the Spirit which governs the mountain, until morning. His return to his people was hailed with every demonstration of delight. Old men and brave warriors greeted him and welcomed him into their secret councils. He was no longer a *tenas* [Chinook Wawa: "small"] man, but a great brave. (Loo-wit Lat-Kla 1861:14)

Another anecdote provided by this source and attributed to John Staps, an Indian man from the Lewis River area, tells of a "*Tamanawos*," or spirit, who "retired to the hills" to consult the "*Sah-ha-ly Tie*" [Chinook Wawa, approximate meaning "Great Spirit"], fasting for seven days (1861:25). Spirit quest activities continue among tribal members, today, but the practice is

considered very personal and private, and inappropriate for general discussion. Tribal Chairman William Iyall has indicated that high peaks and mountain areas remain important for this purpose (Iyall W. 2010, personal communication to Rick McClure).

Neighboring tribal groups, including the Yakama, also understood the spiritual significance of *Lawetlat'la.* While camping at the crest of the Cascade Mountains each summer, William Yallup, Sr., chief of the Rock Creek (Kamiltpah) Band of the Yakama, "always saluted each of the four snow capped peaks (Mt. Adams, Mt. Rainier, Mount St. Helens, and Mt. Hood) before he mounted his horse and rode back to camp. He truly believed in the spirits of the mountains" (Gory 2004:51). This practice shows how the *tamanawas* of the mountains were revered and respected not just by the Cowlitz, but by other groups whose homelands included portions of the Cascade Mountains.

Social and Economic Importance

Historically, many traditional practices associated with seasonal resource gathering were carried out in the vicinity of the mountain. Among these were huckleberry harvesting, elk hunting, fishing, and gathering of mountain goat wool, beargrass, cedar bark, cedar roots, and medicinal plants. While these activities may not necessarily have taken place on the mountain itself, *Lawetlat'la* was regarded as a key element and constant backdrop to these cultural experiences. Patty Kinswa-Gaiser, a prominent elder of the Cowlitz Tribe, recalls spending time gathering cedar and huckleberries around Spirit Lake, just north of Mount St. Helens, with multiple generations of women from her family of the Kinswa lineage (Kinswa-Gaiser 2010, personal communication to John Hand). For tribal members like her, the mountain has both cultural and personal importance. She also states that "when the Cowlitz people are troubled they would either go to the river or to the mountain to let their grief out" (2010, personal communication to John Hand).

Additionally, trails passing near the mountain were important travel routes for the Cowlitz as they came to the area seasonally to gather resources, meet with neighboring tribes, and conduct vision quests. Tribal Council member Mike Iyall, former Director of Natural Resources for the Tribe, views *Lawetlat'la* as a symbol of both spirituality and community because the Cowlitz "could go there to communicate with God" and would use the trail system to access rivers, resources, and attend gatherings (Iyall, M. 2010, personal communication to John Hand).

In the social setting, *Lawetlat'la* functioned like a road sign along the social corridor that was the trans-montane trail network surrounding the mountain. *Lawetlat'la* served as a principal landmark for Cowlitz people, neighboring tribes, trade partners, and distant family relations. It was a landmark by which neighboring peoples identified the Cowlitz and their traditional territory, as well.

National Register Eligibility and the Listing Process

The large and dynamic body of oral traditions and extensive ethnohistoric data involving *Lawetlat'la*, summarized in the National Register nomination, clearly demonstrates the importance of this place with respect to Tribal identity. On this basis, *Lawetlat'la* was listed in the National Register of Historic Places as a TCP under criterion "a" for its clear association with the traditional beliefs and practices of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe and Yakama Nation regarding origins, cultural history, and nature of the world (McClure, Hand and Burke 2012). Those beliefs form a

link to the past, and are thus obviously important in maintaining the cultural continuity of the tribal community.

In addition to meeting the criteria of cultural and/or historical significance (criteria a, b, or c), National Register eligibility is also contingent upon the integrity of the property. Bulletin 38 *Guidelines* recommend assessment of two key aspects of integrity: physical condition and relationship to community. To qualify for listing, a TCP must retain both. In considering the first of these, we concluded that the integrity of condition remains at a high level. Although the landscape of Mount St. Helens was physically altered by the 1980 eruption, the environment remains essentially natural, and has not been compromised by man-made development, construction, or other intrusions. The mountain, managed as a National Volcanic Monument under Forest Service administration, is now generally visited only for hiking, mountain climbing, and research purposes. The volcano is being allowed to regenerate as naturally as possible without the influence of human disturbance.

While the 1980 eruption altered the physical form of *Lawetlat'la*, the event itself is seen by Tribal people as manifestation of the mythic character of the quarreling mountain as remembered through the oral traditions. The spiritual integrity of Mount St. Helens has been preserved, as several Cowlitz myths and its very name tell of the mountain's eruptive history. When the volcano erupted in 1980, it was interpreted to symbolize the anger felt by natives for the unfair treatment of the people and their land (Wilson 1999:75). The mountain today symbolizes the continuity of Cowlitz tribal identity, community, and the changing environment through which the Cowlitz have survived. Modern volcanic activity validates traditional knowledge passed down through generations of Cowlitz people in myth. The dynamic geology of *Lawetlat'la* is, indeed, an expression of its cultural value.

Our assessment of integrity also concluded that the relationship of the TCP to the Cowlitz Indian Tribe remains strong, and is today manifest in various ways, symbolically and otherwise. The official emblem of the Tribe depicts the smoking volcano as the backdrop (Fig. 4). The emblem is prominently displayed on the tribal office buildings, as well as on the clothing worn by tribal members at cultural events celebrating their heritage. The placement and orientation of tribally-owned buildings also reflects the importance of the mountain. For example, the Cowlitz St. Mary's Mission and Elder Housing, near Toledo, Washington are situated in full view of the mountain. Architectural plans for proposed development on newly established Cowlitz reservation land purposefully align buildings to maximize views of the mountain. Principal myths about *Lawetlat'la* are still being told and recorded (see Wilson 1998, 1999), and hunting, resource-gathering and both community and personal spiritual ceremonies are still carried out in the vicinity of the mountain. These practices demonstrate the traditional significance associated with the mountain is still alive in the culture today. Thus, the completed nomination asserted that the integrity of relationship between place and community remains strong.

A completed National Register nomination (McClure et al. 2012) was sent to the Washington Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation for review in late 2012, and subsequently submitted to the Governor's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Federal agencies may submit nominations directly to the Keeper of the National Register; we opted to use the alternate process that includes consideration by the Council for listing at the state level. On 21 February 2013 the Council approved listing *Lawetlat'la* in the Washington State Register of Historic Places, and recommended submission to the Keeper of the National Register. Following National Register staff review, the nomination was approved and *Lawetlat'la* was formally listed in the National Register as a TCP on 11 September 2013.

Fig. 4. The official Cowlitz Indian Tribal emblem, depicting the smoking volcano as the backdrop.

At the national level, TCP listings have been infrequent. Of more than 80,000 properties in the National Register of Historic Places as of 2014, *Lawetlat'la* is one of only 23 TCPs actually listed. While the question of why so few TCPs have been listed is a bit beyond the scope of this case study, the experiences of the authors offer at least two simple explanations; undoubtedly there are others. First, for federal agencies at least, properties that have been found eligible to the National Register, either by SHPO consensus or by formal determination through the Keeper of the National Register, are managed the same as listed properties. The extra work of a formal nomination and listing process offers the property no greater protection. Second, in the case of TCPs, and especially those associated with archaeological sites or spiritual beliefs and practices, there are often concerns about confidentiality and site protection coupled with a sense that National Register status may result in greater public awareness of the property.

These were not concerns in the case of *Lawetlat'la*. The statements of agency and Tribal leaders in response to this listing underscored the unique value of the National Register designation to each and emphasized the cooperative nature of the application: Janine Clayton, Gifford Pinchot National Forest Supervisor, remarked, "Although Mount St. Helens is well-known around the world for its status as an active volcano, the Forest Service has profound respect for the cultural significance of the area. This formal recognition further validates our deep and long-standing relationships with our tribal partners" (USDA Forest Service 2013).

Dr. Allyson Brooks, State Historic Preservation Officer and DAHP Director, emphasized the State's responsibility to protect and preserve historic and cultural resources as assets for the future, noting, "Recognizing significant cultural Native American places in Washington has been a priority for this agency. This is the second Traditional Cultural Property listing in Washington State and one of the very few Traditional Cultural Property listings nationwide. Washington is proud to be in the forefront of recognizing tribal places and history" (USDA Forest Service 2013).

Finally, Cowlitz Tribal Council Chairman William Iyall used the listing to relate the persistence and behavior of the Cowlitz People with that of the mountain, saying, "The listing of *Lawetlat'la* as a Traditional Cultural Property honors the long relationship between the Cowlitz People and one of the principal features of our traditional landscape. For millennia, the mountain has been a place where Tribal members went to seek spiritual guidance. She has erupted many times in our memory, but each time has rebuilt herself anew. She demonstrates that a slow and patient path of restoration is the successful one" (USDA Forest Service 2013).

In retrospect, both tribal and agency officials agree that frequent interactions between Gifford Pinchot National Forest personnel and Tribal members during the period of nomination preparation served to strengthen the overall working relationship between the Forest Service and the Tribe. It is important, however, to acknowledge that concerns were raised by the scientific community, and particularly by researchers with a vested interest in ongoing geological and biological studies within the boundaries of the TCP. They were concerned with how the listing would affect access to research areas, whether National Register status would somehow interrupt long-term studies, if research proposals would require another level of agency review, and if full government-to-government consultation with the Cowlitz Tribe would be required for every proposed action within the TCP boundary. This dialogue, however, has resulted in greater mutual understanding aimed at the development of a cooperative management strategy that respects the scientific, recreational, *and* cultural values of this important place.

The Future: Cooperative Management of a TCP

Since the formal designation of *Lawetlat'la* as a National Register-listed TCP, Cowlitz Tribal leaders have met on several occasions with Forest Service staff and with curriculum developers from the Mount St. Helens Institute (a private, non-profit science educational organization). These meeting discussed cooperative management of the TCP and opportunities for educational outreach, including guided hiking trips to the TCP (Fig. 5). Federal agency direction (FSM 2364.41a, 41f) calls for development of a management or treatment plan oriented toward protection of cultural values contributing to the significance of the property. Gifford Pinchot National Forest and Tribal staff have proposed a multi-disciplinary methodology to develop management standards and guidelines for the plan and a cooperative management approach to meet objectives. Standards and guidelines will incorporate those already set forth in the 1995 *Mount St. Helens Land Management Plan*, 2000 *Gifford Pinchot National Forest Land Management Plan*, and 1996 National Park Service's *Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*, currently under revision. In addition to addressing objectives for protecting and enhancing cultural values, the plan, as proposed, will set forth consultation protocols, and include a consideration of future projects and uses within the boundaries of the TCP. Both parties have also suggested that the plan address the status of *Lawetlat'la* as a Sacred Site under Executive Order 13007.

The management plan relies on partnership opportunities as part of its implementation strategy, particularly those programs, projects, and ongoing activities involving public education or natural/cultural resource monitoring, protection, and restoration. Some educational opportunities are already in development through existing interpretive and educational outreach programs of the Mount St. Helens National Volcanic Monument and the Mount St. Helens Institute, including public lectures, adult science education programs, and field seminars. One very simple effort at public education involved the addition of a cultural awareness statement, authored

Fig. 5. Cowlitz Tribal members, Forest Service staff, Mount St. Helens Institute staff, and authors on the SW flank of *Lawetlat'la* for field seminar during the summer of 2014. Photo by Ray Yurkewycz (Mount St. Helens Institute).

by the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, to the climbing permits required to ascend the mountain. In 2014, nearly 17,500 climbers carried this message with them in the text of their permits:

> Cultural Awareness: The area of Mount St. Helens above treeline is a Traditional Cultural Property of Cowlitz and Yakama Tribal groups. For thousands of years, the Mountain has been a central place in the culture and mythology of the Tribes, where resources were gathered and young people were sent to test themselves. It is a place charged with powerful energy. When you cross above the Loowit Trail into the region where the climbing permit is required, please conduct yourself in a manner that is respectful of both Tribal interests and the Mountain.

Other plan opportunities will likely address access and co-management of traditional natural/cultural resources. For example, mountain goats are a culturally-relevant species for the Cowlitz Tribe, hunted for meat, horns, and wool. A population of mountain goats has recolonized the mountain, and the Tribe and Forest Service have launched a close partnership to survey the mountain goat population. As Cowlitz and Yakama families traditionally ascended to high-elevation areas in late summer to collect huckleberries, beargrass, and other montane resources,

there are many possibilities for similar cooperative efforts that blend science and traditional culture.

Given the nature of the TCP, it is particularly important that the strategies developed to protect cultural values also consider contemporary spiritual practices by Tribal people. For Indian people, *Lawetlat'la* is a place charged with spiritual power, where the boundary between the physical world and the spiritual world grows thin. Traditional use of the mountain included personal, individual *tamanawas*-seeking visits. Solitude and seclusion were essential elements of this practice. A sensitive treatment of traditional spiritual practices is essential, particularly with regard to issues of access and conflicting uses. Recent years have seen renewal of many traditional ceremonies and activities in the Cowlitz community. It is the hope of many Tribal members that this trend will continue, and a renewed interest in traditional spiritual practices will include opportunities for private visits to the upper slopes of the mountain.

Conclusions

The nomination and listing of *Lawetlat'la*/Mount St. Helens to the National Register as a TCP was a voluntary endeavor, designed to meet agency objectives under Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act, as well as cultural resources management objectives of the Cowlitz Indian Tribe. The process was not associated with, or driven by, a federal undertaking or action that would trigger Section 106 consultation. At the national level, and at the regional level, such cases are rare. What, then, are the benefits of this designation, and how will it make a difference in future management?

For the Cowlitz Indian Tribe, in particular, state, federal agency and public recognition of the cultural significance of Mount St. Helens acknowledges the Cowlitz relationship to landscape, their persistence, and a desire to be involved in management decisions that involve a place of important traditional cultural value. It is a distinct hope of the Cowlitz that the TCP becomes a focus for increasing interactions between the Tribal community and the natural and spiritual world. These interactions do not need to occur within the designated boundaries of the TCP, or even within the boundaries of the Mount St. Helens National Volcanic Monument. As a constant backdrop to Tribal events and activities, *Lawetlat'la* remains an important factor to reaffirm and revitalize the relationship between the Tribal community and their cultural landscape.

At the most basic level, the NRHP listing helped the Forest Service meet its own goals and objectives regarding stewardship of heritage resources and compliance with the NHPA. Indeed, Section 110 of the NHPA directs federal agencies to nominate historic properties under their jurisdiction. More important, however, was the growth of a healthy working relationship between the tribe and the federal agency that arose from the spirit of collaboration among project participants. The strength of that relationship has routinely manifested itself, both in terms of formal government-to-government consultation, and in the regular interactions between Forest Service personnel and staff of the Cowlitz Tribe. The trust inherent within that relationship is the foundation for future discussions regarding co-management opportunities of mutual benefit to both partners, including those involving the TCP.

Finally, it will be obvious to most readers that *Lawetlat'la*/Mount St. Helens is not unique as an important sacred site or candidate for National Register listing on the basis of traditional cultural significance. As we have seen in the oral traditions associated with *Lawetlat'la,* other volcanos figure prominently in origin stories. Among these, *Pahto*, Mt. Adams, is considered sacred to the Yakama people. *Takhoma,* Mt. Rainier, is considered sacred by the Muckleshoot,

Nisqually, and Puyallup. *Wyeast*, Mt. Hood, is considered sacred to the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde. Each mountain is tied to its own body of oral traditions, each equally important to those Tribes. We offer this case study as an example of one approach in recognizing and managing places of traditional cultural significance. As appropriate, we encourage others to consider the value and benefits of formal designation for similar cultural landscape features in their areas. However, the greatest and most lasting value, from our perspective, can be measured in the relationships built and trust garnered by working together.

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